"A CONSPIRACY OF CARTOGRAPHERS:" NOTIONS OF SELF-FASHIONING APPLIED TO GEOGRAPHY

Bradley Stabler
Wayne State University

The title of this paper is taken from the Tom Stoppard film, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead*, wherein the following dialog takes place:

Rosencrantz: I don't believe in it anyway.
Guildenstern: What?
Rosencrantz: England.
Guildenstern: Just a conspiracy of cartographers, then?[1]

Stoppard is humorously expressing what seems to be an amazing ability of the human mind — the construction of a landmass to suit one's desires or expectations. Western cartographers have often achieved such effects by producing maps with little to no reference to reality. The result is a malleable geography, one that conforms, or can be made to conform, to the expectations of the Western point of view and sense of morality. What, then, is implied about the Western psyche that has a penchant to destabilize even terra firma? What is insinuated about an unexpected indigenous population "found" inhabiting newly "discovered" lands when their claims in regards to their history, culture, and home are ignored or rejected? It is my intention to examine these questions using Easter Island, and three centuries of Western contact with the island and its inhabitants, as a test case.

In 1687, the English privateer Edward Davis, blown off course in the South Pacific, sighted a sandy beach silhouetted by mountains. Convinced he had found the fabled southern continent, *Terra Australis Incognita*, Davis dubbed it "Davis Land" and sailed on without further exploration. This first recorded sighting, mentioning only an indistinct landmass on the horizon and surmised to be part of a great southern continent, spurred further explorations in the South Pacific. Many navigators traversed those waters for the following century to find this illusive landmass; the coastline of which never once interrupted their journeys.

Expeditions of navigators and whaling crews found only small islands amidst the vast expanse of water. One of the islands discovered was found on Easter Sunday, 1722, by the Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen aboard the *Arena*. It was a small, unimposing island which he named in honor of the holy day. Having gone on shore and met with the inhabitants of Easter Island, the Dutch were amazed by large statues, or *moai*, found on the island to which several of the islanders fled to when threatened. The judgment was rendered that the islanders were incapable of erecting these stone colossi. Unless, Roggeveen inferred, they were hollow and made out of clay. "Davis Land" was still considered a possibility, and clearly, to the Dutch, this island — despite its contents, human and otherwise — was a disappointment.[2]

By the close of the eighteenth century, the island was visited by three more expeditions; Felipe González y Haedo of Spain in 1770, James Cook in 1774, and Jean François Galaup, the Count of La Pérouse, in 1786. Enacting what Mary Louise Pratt refers to as "the 'monarch of all I survey' trope. What is seen is claimed, or thought to be owned".[3] González planted three crosses on the a high hill, renamed the island "San Carlos", and allowed the islanders to consent to annexation by scribbling on a document proclaiming the island a possession of Spanish crown. As to the nature of the *moai*, González agreed with the opinion of Roggeveen on the manner of their construction, yet noted that, "much remains to be worked out on this subject".[4]

Cook had embarked on a journey of exploration of the South Pacific in part with "the view of determining the important question that for many ages has engaged the attention of the learned throughout Europe, namely the *existence* or *non-existence* of an undiscovered continent in the Southern-Hemisphere".[5]

Stopping briefly at Easter Island, Cook, favoring the economic motivations of his voyage, proclaimed that "no nation need contend for the honor of the discovery of this island, as there cannot be a place which affords less convenience for shipping than it does".[6] A 14- year-old midshipman on board Cook's *Resolution,* John Elliott, was impressed even less than his captain. Writing his memoirs years later, Elliott's terse entry covering the whole of March 1774, aside from supplying nautical details, consists of three sentences. "The people are tall and mild", he writes, "but not handsome. We saw some curious and uncouth Monuments, or Statues, but quite nondescript, and where they got the materials to form them we could not conceive, as we saw no stones likely for such a purpose. There appeared nothing to get from those people but sweet Potatoes".[7]

Cook himself conjectured that the *moai* were "put together by piece-meal, and then plaistered [*sic*] over with a cement, which, when dry, consolidated into a hard substance, which every way assumed the colour and consistence of stone".[8] Furthermore, he rightly surmised that the statues were not idols, but memorials to deceased ancestors, usually chiefs or other important men. The *moai* were a link to the islanders' history as well as to the represented ancestor's power, *mana*.

La Pérouse stayed on the island for less than a day. Nevertheless, he made many observations of the island and its inhabitants. The expedition's draughtsman, Duché de Vancy, portrayed both the *moai* and the indigenous population with decidedly European facial features in what was deemed by La Pérouse to be "a very exact drawing".[9] Nestled amongst the many observations in his journal, La Pérouse offers a caveat:

> I can offer nothing but conjectures respecting the manners of this people, of whose language I knew nothing, and whom I only saw for a single day. But, possessed of the experience of former navigators, I was perfectly acquainted with their situation, to which I could I apply my own reflections.[10]

La Pérouse, working from imperfect knowledge of the true history of the island's inhabitants, thereby casts them in the romantic role of the 18th century "noble savage". The promise of finding another virgin continent drove these explorers into the southern reaches of the Pacific Ocean. The notion of "Davis Land" was ultimately rejected and, by the end of the 18th century, maps of the region were predominantly blue. However, before (and sometimes even during) these expeditions that finalized the geographical knowledge of the area, *Terra Incognita Australis* was assumed to exist. A landmass ever receding yet still theoretically possible in the cosmology of the age — an outmoded assumption that the Earth had been created in balance based largely on medieval cartography — that was never found due to its non-existence. It is an instance of maps preceding geography.

The human imagination has been concocting landscapes and filling in details of maps from the beginning of cartographic endeavors — a casual glance of a medieval map that includes the walled city of Paradise confirms this. Geoff King, outlining the history of maps and map-making in *Mapping Reality*, demonstrates that cartography, in its nascence during the Middle Ages, is inextricably linked with art, and by association, religion. These maps reflect a Catholic theology of a balanced world surrounded by the heavens. These "T-O" maps — so called as they reduce the known geography to a simple "T"-shape bounded by an "O" symbolic of Heaven — he argues, "clearly put the expression of an ideology before any attempts to establish what today would be claimed to be a literally accurate representation".[11] The concept is given more credibility than fact. Despite advancements made in geographic knowledge and astronomical observations, mapmakers persisted in employing their imaginations.

Undiscovered lands such as *Terra Incognita Australis* were "filled with pictures of animals, real or fantastic, or with invented rivers and mountains. Uncharted seas were inhabited by mermaids, sea monsters, or islands of the imagination".[12] Projections of Western desires and anxieties filled the marginalia of maps in an effort to shape, name, and demystify the unknown.

Upon the heels of voyages of exploration in the late 15th and 16th centuries, mapping became an order of colonial discourse, "organized", as Karen Piper argues in *Cartographic Fictions*, "to skate around danger and delimit the boundaries of knowledge".[13] This employment of cartography rewrote national boundaries based on acquisition as much as knowledge. The unknown landscapes and unfamiliar territories were relegated to the province of the "Other" only becoming knowable, cohesive entities upon Western exploration. The exotic, mythical "other", in turn becomes a mirror to the Western psyche. This begs the question, who or what can possibly fill the role of the "Other" for Western Culture?

In Lacanian psychology a child lacks a sense of itself as an entity until the mirror stage. It is at this point in development that the child becomes aware of its surroundings and begins to understand itself as an entity separate from the world around it. This concept of separation is conjoined with a sense of wholeness, however, it is a wholeness derived in large part by the reception of fragmentary images of parts of one's own body only seen as similar to body parts of others around oneself. This sense of selfhood is derived as a projection from an outside world over which one has little, if any, control. The Lacanian body becomes both whole and fragmented at once, likewise, the Lacanian psyche is both attracted to and repulsed by that which is outside of it — the unknown, the other. Mapping can be seen, in this light, as a contributing factor in the mirror stage of a society.

Maps provide information of the known and indicate what is unknown. They are expressions of the desire, in Lacanian terms, to "seek ... the image of completion that was coming to us from the world outside ... [what] the Other seemed to offer us".[14] Many objects are mistakenly perceived as the Other; instances that Lacan terms *objet petit a*, or object little a (for *autre*, other), which fuel desire and determine responses to daily life. In reality, they are, as Mansfield writes, "mere substitutes for the huge and miraculous Other hovering on the horizon of human possibility, always beckoning us as the ultimate object of desire, the lure of a complete satisfaction that would also be the stabilisation [*sic*] of a complete and meaningful selfhood".[15]

Civilized 18th century Europe, therefore, created the notion of the "primitive" man as the "other" to their society — "primitive" as opposed to "savage", Piper argues, thereby linking "aboriginal peoples to the idea of an originary moment".[16] This insistence on a mythic "originary moment" allowed civilized Europeans to consider the "primitive" as having been formed in the same act of creation, the Judeo-Christian story of Genesis, by the same creator which gave rise to the belief in a false hierarchy of human development based on an assumed European hegemony. Additionally, Europeans were offered a view of where they came from and may descend to — the notion that the surroundings dictate morality, and by extension, physicality.

Many of the "conjectures" La Pérouse offers are cast in this rhetoric, also colored by the political discourse of the era betraying his leanings in pre-revolutionary French society. For example, on the many thefts perpetrated by the natives, he comments that:

> No person who reads the narratives of modern navigators can imagine the Indians of the South Sea to be in a savage state. On the contrary, they must have made very great progress in civilisation [*sic*], and I believe them to be as corrupt as the circumstances in which they are placed will allow them to be. My opinion in this respect is not founded on the various thefts they committed, but on the manner in which they effected them. The most daring rascals of

> Europe are less hypocritical than the natives of these islands. All their caresses were false. Their physiognomy does not express a single sentiment of truth.[17]

While credit is given to the Easter Islanders for having merely the potential to progress towards a Western version of a civilized society, their "circumstances" — lack of resources, isolation, their inherent inferiority in 18th century discourse — has led to the inevitable outcome, namely, corruption. The passage could also be read as an acknowledgment of aristocratic responsibilities to the lower class. "Mind the people", La Pérouse seems to warn, "or they'll turn on you". These responsibilities, in turn, take on a paternal character in his narrative. However, if La Pérouse wants to appear as a benevolent father figure, then it is certainly a wounded one. Upon leaving the island, he concludes:

> ... I left them one subject to reflect upon, which will probably escape their notice; namely, that we made no use of our power against them, which they did not misunderstand, for the mere motion of a musket levelled in sport put them to flight. On the contrary we have landed in their island merely to do them service. We have loaded them with presents.... We have sown in their fields every kind of useful grain. We have left hogs, goats, sheep ... in exchange for all which we demanded nothing. Nevertheless they threw stones at us, and robbed us of everything which it was possible to carry off ... [I] flattered myself that at daybreak, when they no longer saw our vessels, they would attribute our speedy departure to the just discontent we must entertain at their proceedings, and this reflection would render them better.[18]

By conjecturing that an earlier civilization constructed the *moai*, Roggeveen, González, and Cook, according to Sarah Johnson, "divest eighteenth-century Easter Island Culture of pretensions to antiquity; and thus obstruct any understanding of the present islander's actual history".[19] La Pérouse, however, does the opposite. As he leaves the island, commenting on the reception he received and his hope for the enlightenment of the indigenous people, La Pérouse fully acknowledges the islanders' history and engages Easter Island within a global discourse — they can no longer be considered isolated. Despite the fact that he echoes Cook in that "the island itself offers scarcely any supply to vessels",[20] La Pérouse describes the islanders as quintessentially primitive — sharing a common humanity, capable of development, yet of a lower status than Western civilization.[21]

The appellation "primitive" was applied to recently discovered indigenous groups — the hitherto unknown occupants found residing in the blank spaces on the maps reserved for mermaids, monsters, and giants. Even though each new addition to the Western body of geographic knowledge reduced those blank spaces, Piper argues that a certain "nostalgia for unmapped spaces begins to emerge. There is, however, a fear that what is discovered out there may escape its margins and be brought back home or somehow infect the civilized world".[22] There is also, to some degree, recognition of a limit to knowledge — or perhaps limits of the desire for knowledge. Along with this admission, there arises the anxiety of the unknown. As the shores of "Davis Land" recede, fears over what will replace them arise. Hand in hand with these anxieties are desires: the desire of economic gain to be made from untapped sources of raw materials; the desire for full knowledge of the world around us; the desire to protect ourselves from the unknown, the primitive, the inhuman. The colonial endeavors of the 18th century were largely spurred and marked by this conflation of desire and fear.

As can be seen in the case of Easter Island, the inherent desire and fear of a mystery was not lost with proof of "Davis Land's" non-existence. "People", writes ethnographer Alfred Métraux, "could not resign themselves to the loss of a continent".[23] Instead this concept was condensed into one locale and superimposed upon its history, culture, and people. This malleable geography of Easter Island based upon the fanciful projections of Western explorers — though it may be one of the last examples of this type of destabilized landmass along with the interiors of Africa and Papua New Guinea — is certainly not a unique phenomenon when one considers such things as Columbus's conviction that he landed in Asia and not a "new world", conquistadors' search for El Dorado, or the likes of Cabot and Hudson convinced of a Northwest Passage. Upon "finding" the island and despite claims of the inhabitants to the contrary, Westerners proceeded to project many theories about the island and the culture of past inhabitants, based mostly on the presence of the *moai*, the large stone statues erected on platforms.

Beginning with Roggeveen, doubt was cast on the ability of the indigenous population to carve *moai*, let alone transport and erect them. Many theories posit that an earlier race inhabited the island, carved the monuments and departed. Others, most prominently Thor Heyerdahl in his book *Aku-Aku: The Secret of Easter Island*, have argued that Easter Islanders are descendants of South American Indians with whom they were in continual contact, enlisting their aid and knowledge in carving the *moai* and the *ahu* they stand on. This despite concrete evidence derived from tested archeological methods and even the commentary by the aforementioned 18th century visitors and others: according to González, "[the islanders did] not resemble that of the Indians of the Continent of Chile, Peru or New Spain in anything ... tallying with Europeans more than with Indians"[24] John Marra, Cook's chronicler, writes that "[the islanders] approach the nearest to the New Zealanders in habit and appearance of any people [Cook's crew] had yet seen";[25] La Pérouse describes the islanders as having "none of the characteristic traits observable in the Malays, the Chinese, and the natives of Chili [*sic*]"[26] and that "it cannot be doubted, as Captain Cook observes, that these people have had the same origin with those of the other islands of the South sea"[27]; and Pierre Loti, in 1872, remarks that "as for the inhabitants of Easter Island they came from the east from the Polynesian archipelagos; there is no doubt of that. In the first place that is what they tell you themselves.

According to the tradition of their old men they came some centuries ago from [islands] further east".[28] Heyerdahl, in the mid-20th century, encountered an island population infused with the genetic contributions of decades of Western sailors and colonial powers — the contribution of whalers and slavers taking advantage of the sexual promiscuity of island women. Heyerdahl compromises his theory of Pacific colonization by Peruvian Indians by discounting this history and other evidence.

Unfortunately for Heyerdahl, who was operating within the realm of scientific discourse and utilizing appropriate archaeological methods, his compromised theory becomes compacted with the more off-the-wall theories posited in recent decades.

Some theories have even become as far-fetched as Erich von Däniken's proposition in *Chariot of the Gods?,* that an extraterrestrial race carved the stone statues with lasers and transported them with anti-gravity technology.[29] It should be noted that von Däniken did not set foot on the island prior to publishing his book. Regardless of this fact, von Däniken offers as evidence a nebulous "orally transmitted legend ... that flying men landed and lighted fires in ancient times. The legend is confirmed by sculptures of flying creatures with big, staring eyes".[30]

The island remains, to this day, a focus of the fringe element of the "scientific" community, despite concrete evidence derived from tested archeological methods. David Childress, as recently as 1998, has written two works proposing that the island is either the remnants of a sunken continent, Mu — conjoining earlier cartographer's assertions of *Terra Incognita Australis* with the legend of Atlantis — or a lost civilization of an advanced race, the Lemurians. The Lemurians, supposedly, were a group of clairvoyant holy people who interacted between other worlds. The remnants of this advanced civilization can be seen on the Fiji islands, the Hawaiian islands, and Easter Island. Childress, much like von Däniken, is convinced that the early islanders had access to or were visited by extraterrestrial companions in flying machines. Along with the lost civilization and alien race theories, other theories of shipwrecked elephants, electromagnetic disturbances, and tectonic shifts (to name just a few), have been published in recent years.[31]

This phenomenon of assigning mystical or extraterrestrial significance to the history and culture of Easter Island merely continues the pattern of Western desires for the "other" projected upon the unknown. The unknown has now reached new dimensions that extend either into space or across time and rebukes the findings of hard science — archaeological evidence, pollen counts from soil samples, oceanic floor mapping. Quoting Georgia Lee on the persistence of the "fringe" element of scientific discourse, McLaughlin writes that "much of this nonsense derives from non-scholars reading nineteenth century commentary, when the science of archaeology was in its infancy and the scientific method was not yet employed, and incorporating it without a healthy skepticism or a more rigorous review of contemporary research".[32] Whatever the source may be, though, the end result is a complete disavowal of native sources of information.

What is insinuated about an indigenous population when their claims in regard to their history, culture, and home are ignored or rejected? The island's name alone bears the stamp of Western disavowal of the indigenous population. Given the name "Easter Island" merely due to the coincidental "discovery" by Roggeveen on Easter Sunday, it is also known as "Rapa Nui". However, this too is a name given to the island by outsiders — in this case, Tahitian sailors on whaling crews who saw similarities between Easter Island and their island of Rapa, which lies south of Tahiti. As Easter Island is larger than their Rapa and "*nui*" is the Polynesian word for "big", the name "Rapa Nui" literally means "big Rapa". The 19th century French missionary Hippolyte Roussel notes that:

> The name "Rapa Nui" is unknown to the natives. This designation of their homeland was introduced by foreigners or, more likely, by the natives of neighboring islands that would have landed here on whaling ships. No matter whom I asked and how many times, asking over and over again to confirm the truth of their assertions, they always answered, "We don't know the name Rapa nui — our land has never had its own name — we only know Hanga Roa, Vaïhu, Otuiti, etc.". [33]

Even though the natives lack a name for their island, what to them was the entire world and referred to only as "the land" in order to differentiate it from the water, they occasionally referred to it as Te Pito te Henua — "the navel of the world". However, as with most issues concerning Easter Island, this also is up for debate. Métraux points out that "*pito*" can be translated as both "navel" and "end". One of the island's headlands bears the name Pito te Henua, or "Land's End."[34]

If a simple sign as the name of a location can be embroiled in controversy, what does that portend for a culture? Alphonso Lingis writes, "all the giant statues were hurled from their altars since that Easter Day in 1722".[35]

This is true both historically and metaphorically. Scarce resources triggered internecine warfare amongst island clans. This was only exacerbated by the pressures arising from intervention from a hostile outside world as competition to curry favor among the visitors reignited hostilities. One of the main tactics of opposing camps was to topple the *moai* marking the grave sites of enemy ancestors, thereby severing a clan's access to that ancestor's mana. Visitors to the island, as early as Cook, noted fallen statues and desecrated graves which may have influenced their commentary on a decayed culture. In addition, starting with the La Pérouse's collection of "rubble" from *moai* sites, *moai* and other artefacts such as wooden sculptures and engraved tablets (*rongorongo*) were removed from the island to be ensconced in Western museums — the relics of the island's past annexed much like the island and the people themselves.

The secrets of Easter Island were available to any who chose to hear them; a visit to this remote location bears witness to this. However, the constructed enigma of the island

is difficult to displace, as Lingis notes:

> The "mystery" of this island, kept up by anthropologists seeking grants, travel writers, and tourist brochures, was created by Westerners who came upon the island, saw the statues and looked at the islanders and concluded the present islanders could not have created the statues; they were the work of a lost continent of Mu, or Outer Space.... The history, cosmology, and science of the islanders became a mystery in the nineteenth century when the population was enslaved, decimated, and the few survivors Christianised [*sic*] and the surviving twenty-one [rongo-rongo tablets], taken by collectors to Rome, Petrograd, and Venice, became undecipherable. [36]

To be fair, and not to divert credit away from the inexhaustible activity of anthropologist William Mulloy, many of the archaeological sites on the island today have been restored, mostly in the last 50 years, thanks in part to the works of Alfred Métraux, who focused global attention on the island with his ethnography, and Heyerdahl, who, despite his misplaced conjectures did spearhead projects to re-erect some *moai* in an effort to determine how they were originally stood in place. This work could not have been done without the cooperation and labor of the remaining descendants of those fallen ancestors.[37]

Echoing La Pérouse's sentiments about the "circumstances in which they are placed" effecting the islanders, Lingis portrays the culture — the society and art — in an uninterrupted continuum intrinsically connected to their island. He writes that, "all the traces that remain bear witness that their activity — their irrational, passionate activity such as erecting giant stone statues on the edge of the ocean — picks up the hardness and the restlessness of the volcanic island, the ocean, the skies, the winds".[38]

The native voice of Easter Island has only recently been allowed to rise in a conflation of its past, present, and future. Today, visitors to the island rarely leave unmoved. I count myself as one of these fortunate travelers. I was on Te Pito o Te Henua, or Rapa Nui, commonly known as Easter Island, and am still enthralled by its wild charms and primal forces — the wind, surf, and rain that continually threaten to reshape the volcanic island and its occupants, past and present, have also affected me. I was roused from my slumber by the crowing of wild roosters as dawn broke on my last day at the end of the world and could not have felt more alive. Rapanui families are able to profit from this tourism and their children are able to gain an education. Many are devoted to their ancestral home as "native anthropologists" working as field guides, park rangers, or cab drivers — all willing to help clear the mysteries.

NOTES

1 Tom Stoppard, *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* (Cinecom Pictures, 1991).

2 Alfred Métraux, *Easter Island: A Stone-Age Civilization of the Pacific* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1957):29-30, 38-39.

3 As quoted in Karen Piper, *Cartographic Fictions: Maps, Race, and Identity* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2002): 7.

4 As quoted in Shawn McLaughlin, *The Complete Guide to Easter Island* (Los Osos, CA: Easter Island Foundation, 2007): 35.

5 John Marra, *The Resolution's Voyage, in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775,* (Amsterdam: N. Israel and New York: De Capo Press, 1967): iv.

6 McLaughlin, 36.

7 Elliott, John; Richard Pickersgill; & Christine Holmes (eds.). *Captain Cook's Second Voyage: The Journals of Lieutenants Elliott and Pickersgill*. (London: Caliban Books, 1984): 29.8 Marra, 143.

9 Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse, *A Voyage Round the World Performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 by the Boussole and Astrolabe* (Amsterdam: N. Israel and New York: De Capo Press, 1968): 322.

10 *Ibid.*, 323.

11 Geoff King, *Mapping Reality* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996):31.

12 *Ibid.*, 63.

13 Piper, 7.

14 Nick Mansfield, *Subjectivity: Theories of the Self From Freud to Haraway* (New York: New York University Press, 2000):46.

15 *Ibid.*, 46-7.

16 Piper, 10.

17 La Pérouse, 327.

18 *Ibid.*, 328-9.

19 Sarah Johnson, "'Curious and Uncouth Monuments': European Responses to Pacific Edifices" **in** *Studies in Travel Writing* 7.2:119-44 (2003).

20 La Pérouse, 329.

21 *Cf.* Johnson, 131-5

22 Piper, 16.

23 Métraux, 29.

24 As quoted in McLaughlin, 34.

25 Marra, 140.

26 La Pérouse, 316.

27 *Ibid.*, 324.

28 As quoted in McLaughlin, 40.

29 Erich von Däniken, *Chariots of the Gods? Unsolved Mysteries of the Past*, (New York: Bantam Books, 1971):111-117.

30 *Ibid.*, 113.

31 *Cf.* the McLaughlin 2007 to companion text at the Easter Island Foundation's Web site <http://www.islandheritage.org/mysteries.html>.

32 McLaughlin, 76.

33 *Ibid.*, 85.

34 *Ibid.* and Métraux, 36.

35 Lingis, Alphonso, "Te Pito O Te Henua" (*UTS Review: Cultural Studies and New Writing* 2.2 (1996):144-62.

[36] *Ibid.*, 146-7.
[37] *Cf.* Van Tilburg, "Reconstructing" for an account of a modern day replication of moai carving and erecting.
[38] Lingis, 161.

REFERENCES

Childress, David H. 1996. *Ancient Tonga and the Lost City of Mu'a*. Stelle, IL: Adventures Unlimited Press.

Childress, David H. 1998. *Ancient Micronesia and the Lost City of Nan Madol*. Kempton, IL: Adventures Unlimited Press.

Däniken, Erich von. 1971. *Chariots of the Gods? Unsolved Mysteries of the Past.* New York: Bantam Books.

Elliott, John, Richard Pickersgill, & Christine Holmes (eds.). 1984.*Captain Cook's Second Voyage: The Journals of Lieutenants Elliott and Pickersgill.* London: Caliban.

Heyerdahl, Thor. 1958. *Aku-Aku, The Secret Of Easter Island*. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Johnson, Sarah. 2003. "'Curious and Uncouth Monuments': European Responses to Pacific Edifices **i**n *Studies in Travel Writing* 7.2:119-44.

King, Geoff. 1996. *Mapping Reality*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

La Pérouse, Jean-François de Galaup, Comte de & Milet-Mureau, Louis Antoine (eds). 1968. *A Voyage Round the World Performed in the Years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788 by the Boussole and Astrolabe*. Amsterdam: N. Israel and New York: De Capo Press.

Lingis, Alphonso. 1996. "Te Pito O Te Henua." *UTS Review: Cultural Studies and New Writing* 2.2: 144-62. MLA International Bibliography. CSA. WSU Library, Detroit, MI. <www.csa.com>. Accessed April 21, 2008.

Mansfield, Nick. 2000. *Subjectivity: Theories of the Self From Freud to Haraway*. New York: New York University Press.

Marra, John. 1967. *The Resolution's Voyage, in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775*. Amsterdam: N. Israel and New York: De Capo Press.

McLaughlin, Shawn. 2007. *The Complete Guide to Easter Island.* Los Osos: Easter Island Foundation.

Métraux, Alfred. 1957. *Easter Island: A Stone-Age Civilization of the Pacific*. Trans. Michael Bullock. New York: Oxford University Press.

Piper, Karen. 2002. *Cartographic Fictions: Maps, Race, and Identity*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Stoppard, Tom. 1991. *Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are Dead.* Cinecom Pictures.

Van Tilburg Jo, Anne & Arévalo Pakarati Cristián. 2002. "Reconstructing the Rapa Nui Carver's Perspective: Observations on the Experimental Replication of Moai on Easter Island" **in** *Pacific Art: Persistence, Change and Meaning* (Anita Herle, *et al.*, ed.). Honolulu: University. of Hawaii Press: 280-290.

TRANSCRIPT OF A LETTER DATED MAY 12, 1953 FROM PADRE SEBASTIÁN ENGLERT (ISLA DE PASCUA, VALPARAÍSO, CORREO NAVAL, CHILE) TO SIR HARRY LUKE (LONDON, ENGLAND).

DEAR SIR HARRY,

As we are expecting a Chilean Navy boat for the beginning of next month, I am writing letters already and when I read again my sister's last letter before writing her, I felt again so deeply, so sincerely thankful to you because you went to see her especially on your way to Salzburg. So I feel compelled to express [to] you again my gratitude for your kindness. My sister was so happy! I think it was one of the happiest days of her life when you visited her although she tells me that she has always been happy during her 25 years as a nun. May God reward you, Sir Harry, for the great kindness you showed my little sister and me! — Here on the island there may be some changes in the future. The Company has been slandered for a long time already, by some bad-intentioned people in the Continent. As a result, the Government denounced the contract with the Company. But it seems that, luckily, the Chilean Navy is taking over the island with the intention of continuing the same system. We don't know anything sure, but rumours have come over the wireless and I hope it will be true. It would be only for the benefit of the natives if the Company, under the supervision of the navy, would carry on her system of work. — In Mataveri, where you were a guest, is now Mr Jack Lord (the Australian). He is always very nice to me. The other manager (Cadiz the Chilean) who went on the *Pinto* with you to the Continent and wanted to come back. But the natives did not want him to stay again in Mataveri. They really rejected him (because they consider him to false, too deceiving) although he came in December, with the intention of remaining he had to quit again. During some time Mr Daly was angry with me too, because I advised him by telegram that it were better for the tranquillity of the island if Cadiz did not return. Now that is all over again and I think that Mr Daly agrees with me. — Since some time ago I am preaching every Sunday and feast day in the native language (Rapanui) in the first mass in the church and the second mass in the Leprosarium. In the third mass I preach in Spanish. I hope to be able to send at the end of the year a manuscript to our printing office in Chile containing Catechism and Bible Stories of the Old and New Testament in Rapanui. You see I have not forgotten the counsels you gave me during your visit here. The natives like it, so I will go on, in spite of the difficulties, especially the lack of intellectual, spiritual themes in the native language. — I never received a letter from Dr Montague. I wonder if he was successful with the pictures he took on the island.

With my best wishes and very kind regards

Yours very sincerely

P. SEBASTIÁN ENGLERT

Editor's Note: Transcript courtesy of David Maddock and Rufus Barnes, who are collaborating in the writing of a book about the postal history of Easter Island.